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Funding Social Change Since 1967

# RESIST

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*A Call to Resist Illegitimate Authority*

September, 1992

## Shifting Ground in Korea: U.S. Movement Responds with Caution, Hope

DAVID EASTER

**K**orea, a country that has suffered desperately at the hands of the United States, has received only sporadic attention from the American left over the past decades. Cut in two by the United States and the Soviet Union in 1945, racked by a brutal civil war that has never officially ended, home of ten million divided families, plagued by human rights abuses, Korea needs our attention now.

If the Bush administration requires a pre-election military crisis to shore up public support, Iraq, Cuba and North Korea stand out as the most likely enemy states. The *New York Times* reported February 17, 1992 that a working group with representatives from the Joint chiefs of Staff, the Defense Intelligence Agency, and the Defense Department had drawn up seven possible war scenarios for the 1994-1999 period. Two of the seven anticipated war in Korea. In one scenario, North Korea would use the cover of a peace initiative for an all out attack on the South. The second is a variation of the first. At a time that Iraq invades Kuwait and Saudi Arabia, North Korea seizes the moment to invade South Korea.

Pentagon fantasies aside, the end of the Cold War has brought a time of great



hope in Korea. Korean reconciliation is finally possible. Seoul, in the South, and Pyongyang, in the North, are on the verge of ending their decades-long military confrontation. It is the United States that keeps fanning the flames of mistrust, attempting to maintain the hostile status quo.

Last winter, North and South Korea reached several dramatic agreements. The governments agreed to sign a nonaggression pact, to discuss cutting down the size of their swollen armed

forces, to create a nuclear-free zone in Korea, to step up economic exchanges, and to work toward the opening of their borders. All of this was envisioned as a prelude to Korean reunification. In

*continued on page two*

### ATTENTION LIBRARIANS!

You'll notice the Resist newsletter now has its own ISSN number. We have also begun a new numbering system for each issue. Volume One will include our first 250 newsletters. The 251st issue will be Volume Two, Number One.



*continued from page one*

the months since, the two sides have been slow to implement these agreements, each blaming the other for lack of good faith. But hope is still high as each side continues to make small steps of compromise.

### Shifting Context for Korea Solidarity

There are many reasons for the shifting ground in Korea. The demise of the U.S.S.R. and the socialist governments of Eastern Europe ended favorable trading terms for North Korea and increased economic pressure. North Korea is responding by accelerating the opening of its planned economy to foreign investment. It is opening several free trade zones, inviting investment by capitalist countries, including South Korea.

At the same time, South Korean companies are beginning to face a labor shortage and are in the process of

exporting their factories to low wage countries. Socialist North Korea fits this category, and the large South Korean conglomerates are pressing the South Korean government to end its policy forbidding nearly all contact with the North. In the past two years, the chairmen of Hyundai and Daewoo have traveled to Pyongyang, capital of North Korea, promising investment. During this same period, other large South Korean firms have begun direct trade with the North, seeking to solidify business ties. Only a few years ago there was no trade at all.

South Korean capitalists are also facing competition from the expanding Japanese economy. Japan and North Korea are on the verge of normalizing relations. As reparation for its colonial treatment of Korea, Japan is expected to pay North Korea \$5 billion, which may largely be used to finance Japanese

*continued on page five*

## Resist to Turn 25!

**R**esist turns 25 next month and we're planning a big party here in Boston for November 14th at the Jorge Hernandez Cultural Center in Villa Victoria. Everyone is invited so save that date!!! There will be poetry, music, dancing, good food, panel displays from groups we've funded and lots more.

**Come help celebrate our history, renew old friendships, make new ones, and look ahead at where our movements should be going.**

Besides the party, we're planning an art show in the spring [called "Acts of Resistance: Making Community/ies"] and a year-long focus in the newsletter reflecting on our past and thinking into our future. There's still time to help out with all this and volunteers are welcome. We'd like to especially invite the participation of Boston area supporters, and groups that have received Resist grants. The Boston 25th organizing committee meets monthly and is mostly focusing on the November party. There's an "art group" and also a "history group" in Boston and an art/event group in New York working on the other projects. Please call the office if you'd like to get involved.

If you're outside the Boston area, maybe you'd like to coordinate some kind of event, art exhibit, house-party, poetry reading, or something else in your community to commemorate our anniversary. Call Tatiana Schreiber at the Resist office to discuss your ideas.

**Thanks!!! and see you on November 14th.**

## OOPS!

Resist supporter Phil Bereano wrote in after reading our special issue, "Breast Cancer and the Environment," (Vol. 1, #246; May/June 1992) to point out that, contrary to our reporting, the 1958 Delaney Clause banning the deliberate addition of carcinogens to food, has not been revoked. According to Bereano, the Clause was recently upheld in a case last month in the Ninth U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in San Francisco, which ruled that the Clause applied to pesticide residues. The case was argued by Al Myerhoff from the National Resources Defence Council in S.F. Thanks for the correction.

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# Press Freedom and the Grand Jury in Puerto Rico:

## Sanchez Case Sparks Outrage and Organizing

LINDA BACKIEL

Daisy Sánchez, a young Channel 11 news reporter in Puerto Rico and mother of a four-year-old son, was contacted in the summer of 1991 by representatives of Los Macheteros, a clandestine organization dedicated to obtaining independence for Puerto Rico. She was asked if she would be interested in an extensive, exclusive interview with members Filiberto Ojeda Ríos and Luís Colón Osorio, two of the island's best-known *independentistas*. She quickly assented, despite the fact that the two were known to be underground and actively sought by the FBI.

The interview was conducted and aired on Channel 11 in August of last year, with great public interest, including that of the FBI, which immediately sought to interview Sánchez about her interview. When she refused, citing a reporter's ethical obligations to maintain the confidentiality of her sources and the integrity of her work, the FBI served a grand jury subpoena on both the reporter and the station for the original tapes, alleging that a grand jury in Hartford, CT was considering a bail-jumping indictment against the two fugitives and needed the tapes as evidence.

The station, conscious of its responsibility to maintain the freedom and independence of the press, supported Sánchez' refusal to turn over the materials, and decided to air the entire, unedited tape, which it turned into a feature program with interviews and commentaries by political analysts and others regarding the issues aired by the two fugitive *independentistas*. The FBI was informed that, as members of the public, its officials could write and request a copy of the tape, which was available to the public at a nominal charge. The FBI was not satisfied however, and insisted that Sánchez appear behind the closed doors

of the grand jury room in Hartford.

Ever since the bitterly divided Supreme Court decision in the 1972 case of *Branzburg v. Hayes* (compelling *Daily News* reporter Earl Caldwell to testify about events inside the Black Panther Party headquarters during a police raid in Harlem), grand jury (as well as trial) subpoenas have been commonplace in the United States. However, they are virtually unknown in Puerto Rico, where freedom of the press is a more recently-won and tenaciously defended right.

Puerto Rico has had a history of overt censorship exercised by the Spanish until the last decade of the nineteenth century, when the U.S. invaded the island, imposed martial law, and enacted censorship of its own. As a result, freedom of the press is a rallying cry, not just for professional journalists but for the ordinary person.<sup>1</sup>

The Senate and House of Representatives of Puerto Rico issued strong resolutions supporting Sánchez' position; the Governor and leaders of all three Puerto Rican political parties wrote to the judge, passed resolutions and generally urged that the subpoena be withdrawn or quashed; labor unions and religious organizations, journalists' organizations and an association of 1200 newspaper owners all joined *amicus* briefs in support of Sánchez. The notion of jailing a Puerto Rican reporter in Connecticut for doing her job was just too much for most Puerto Ricans.

The prosecutors, stunned by the outpouring of support for Sánchez, relented and "postponed" her appearance — twice. When they believed the outrage

had finally died down, they tried again, summoning her to Hartford just before Christmas. She left Puerto Rico prepared to go to jail in order to vindicate her professional ethics, having pre-recorded a series of tapes for her son so he could still fall asleep to the sound of her voice.

On the day of her appearance in Hartford, the federal court in San Juan — a modern fortress of a building surrounded by spiked fencing and set far back from the street — was besieged by pickets, loudspeakers and music from spirited demonstrators including professional associations, religious groups, the office of the Mayor of San Juan, political leaders, and members of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, labor, cultural and civic organizations.

### Abuse of Subpoena Power Unconstitutional

In Hartford, Sánchez' lawyers presented legal briefs arguing that the original tapes were protected from subpoena by the First Amendment's guarantees of freedom and independence of the press, and that requiring her to appear before the grand jury was inconsistent with protection of the confidentiality of a reporter's sources. They also presented a sworn declaration from Laura Candelas, the president of the professional journalists' association, to the effect that such subpoenas are regarded in the profession as a violation of the rights of the public to freedom of information.

An *amicus* brief filed by the Instituto Puertorriqueño de Derechos Civiles and its U.S. counterpart, the Center for Constitutional Rights, argued that the culture, history, and jurisprudence of Puerto Rico required that the subpoena be quashed, even if strict interpretations of federal precedent in the U.S. courts did not. The Court's decision, anticipated at 11AM, was postponed until 1:00, then 3:00, and then until the following day.

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1. On the other hand, censorship today has been "privatized." All but one TV station is owned by U.S. communications giants. Those channels (Sánchez works for the "other" one) barely carried the story of her subpoena. And where once there were five daily papers there are now two — one owned by the founder of the pro-statehood party and the other a tabloid specializing in front-page photos of grisly crimes.



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The judge, a well-known conservative, some of whose restrictive interpretations of the First Amendment had been reversed by higher courts, stunned the courtroom with a decision excusing Sánchez from complying with the subpoena, and recognizing that the original tapes were not necessary to the grand jury's investigation.

What is most surprising was the judicial recognition of the FBI's all-too-common abuse of subpoena power to either obtain information it has no legitimate means to obtain, and/or to harass and intimidate those who in some way defy or challenge its abuses. Congress has repeatedly denied subpoena power to the FBI: in this and many other cases, the FBI "borrows" that power from the grand jury, "legally" acting as process-server for the grand jury, but, in reality, telling the prosecutor whom to summon and what questions to ask. The investigative powers of the grand jury are virtually unlimited, and judges are reluctant to second-guess what prosecutors tell them a grand jury "wants to see."

## Puerto Rican Context

What distinguishes Sánchez' case from those of the many U.S. journalists who have been ordered to turn over their materials or go to jail, is the level of public indignation over the case, and the support for her refusal to comply. This, in turn, reflects a distinctly Puerto Rican culture and history, which, although theoretically subsumed by the colonial structure and superseded by federal law, asserts itself at critical junctures.

The right to freedom of the press and its independence from government structures is not taken for granted in Puerto Rico. The Bill of Rights incorporated in the constitution of the Free Associated States of Puerto Rico<sup>2</sup> not only guarantees the right to freedom of the press, but also

contains a strange clause prohibiting the taking in eminent domain of any building housing a press until and unless the government certifies that suitable alternative housing has been found for the press. That clause reflects a long, bitter, and difficult struggle for autonomy and, indeed, survival, on the part of the press in Puerto Rico, which suffered overt censorship until nearly the beginning of the twentieth century, and which experienced fire bombings and other attacks from right-wing forces, with the collaboration

Rico. Indeed, men and women who were jailed for substantial periods of time for such offenses are still active in Puerto Rico, as are their children and others deeply affected by the harsh repression of that period as well as the outright terrorism of the right, sponsored and often executed by or at the behest of U.S. government agencies.

These historical experiences, which in turn shaped and were shaped by a distinct, Latin American culture and its values (giving respect for one's personal life

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of federal and local law enforcement officials, throughout the 1960s and 1970s.

Recent testimony before a Puerto Rican Senate Committee investigating government involvement in the planning and cover-up of the assassination of two young *independentistas* in 1978 implicates both federal and local intelligence forces as well as Cuban exiles in planting bombs during the 1970s at the offices of the liberal periodical *Avance* as well as the pro-independence publication of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, *Claridad*.

Also fresh in the memory of Puerto Ricans today is the infamous "Ley de la Mordaza," or "gag law" passed in the 1950s, which made it a crime to write, edit, publish, distribute, or sell the newspaper of the Nationalist Party of Puerto

and for decorum a much higher status than these values enjoy in the United States), all served to inspire a level of organized, vocal, and widespread support for Daisy Sánchez' resistance to her subpoena which proved invincible, even for the federal government.

Sánchez' lawyers, staff, and others at the Instituto Puertorriqueño de Derechos Civiles decided there were some important lessons to be learned from this victory for press freedom. After discussion and analysis with various organizations that had participated in the organizing and *amicus* brief efforts, a conference titled "Freedom of the Press: Right and Struggle in Puerto Rico" was held this past spring. The conference was funded by the Puerto Rican Foundation for the Humanities, and sponsored by several groups including ASPRO (the professional journalists' association), the Instituto, and the Athenaeum of Puerto Rico. The keynote speaker was Professor Ivonne Acosta, author of the book *La Ley de la Mordaza*. Panelists included ASPRO President Laura Candelas, attorney Guillermo Ramos Luina, (who is working to have the practice of serving subpoenas on reporters declared unconstitutional in

2. There is no denying that this Constitution, like the creature it defines, is a colonial one. Created in 1952 in order to relieve the United States of the duty of informing the United Nations about conditions in its colonial territories and possessions, the Constitution created the anomalous "Free Associated State" — the name give the current colonial relationship between Puerto Rico and the United States, whose official translation is "Commonwealth." Puerto Rico is not a state; it is not free, and its "association" was achieved by force of inva-

sion. The Constitution itself was drafted by Puerto Ricans, reviewed and edited by the U.S. Congress (which rejected substantial portions as "socialistic"), revised by Puerto Ricans, and finally approved by Congress. Even so, according to decisions by federal courts, in the event of conflicts between its 20th century guarantees (e.g., of the right to bail, prohibition against electronic surveillance, and elimination of the death penalty) and statutes of the Constitution of the United States, the Constitution of Puerto Rico has absolutely no force and effect.



Puerto Rican courts), Ralph Rivera, general coordinator of the Instituto, and attorney Linda Backiel. Daisy Sánchez moderated the panel.

Inspired by Sánchez' success in defeating a federal grand jury subpoena, and overcoming the weight of precedent, the conference helped identify several important lessons about organizing. First, the importance of understanding the difference between the workers who are journalists and those who own the means of communication, and the role of each; second, recognizing that an issue that provokes a sense of outrage may be shared across a broad spectrum, and not remain the exclusive problem of the most affected sector (in this case journalists); third, organizing efforts must not be confined to the traditional "left" or "dissident" sectors, but instead the issue must be defined broadly enough ("freedom of the press" v. repression against the independence movement) so that many who are not traditional political allies can make common cause in defense of deeply held values; and fourth, it is necessary to share the results of such experiences with people who are forming values, professional standards, etc. For this purpose we made videos of the conference and are publishing the presentations in English and Spanish for distribution at journalism and law schools.

It is hoped that by examining Sánchez' case and others like it, we can all arrive at a clearer understanding of the elements of a successful legal-political campaign for fundamental rights and improve our ability to protect and advance them. ◇

*Linda Backiel, in addition to serving as one of the lawyers on the amicus brief in the Daisy Sánchez case, and as a consultant to the Puerto Rican Institute for Civil Rights, served six months in jail for refusing to testify against a client before a grand jury.*



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investment in North Korea. South Korean firms know they have to move fast so as not to be squeezed out by the Japanese.

The example of German reunification also fosters hope about reconciliation among the peoples of North and South Korea. For Koreans living in a country that was united for 1,200 years prior 1945, the desire for an end to the division is a very emotional issue.

But North Korean leaders must have watched in horror as a larger West Germany swallowed up the much smaller East Germany. North Korea has half the population of South Korea and a much smaller economy. Kim Il Sung, the president of North Korea, appears to want to cut a deal now that will allow the North to maintain its own economic and social system. He is pressing his long held plan for a confederated reunification of Korea. Diplomatic and military matters would be coordinated, but the two governments and two economic systems would remain. The South Korean government's public reunification plan is not all that different. Most observers believe that given the socialist North and capitalist South, a staged reunification is the most practical. The progressive movement in South Korea, however, is rightly worried that this process might lock in the worst of each system, rather than combining the best in a united Korea. Blatant human rights violations and authoritarian impulses on both sides

must be condemned.

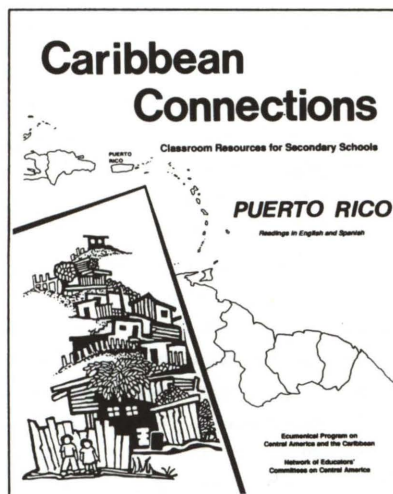
### **U.S. offers peace but threatens war.**

Washington is responding to the changed context in Northeast Asia in a schizophrenic manner; at one moment threatening war, at the next offering peace. To say that Washington has tremendous influence in Korea is an understatement. The United States keeps 40,000 U.S. troops stationed on forty bases throughout South Korea. American generals have commanded South Korean military forces ever since the Korean war. For forty years Washington has chosen to deal with North Korea only through military confrontation, refusing even to talk with North Korean officials.

But now the situation has changed. With the disintegration of the U.S.S.R., North Korea lost the last ally that could come to bat for it in the case of war. It has become very difficult for Washington to paint North Korea as a mini evil empire posing a real threat to the U.S. or its ally, South Korea. South Korea, which has outspent North Korea two to one on its military for nearly two decades, can defend itself. For budgetary reasons, pressure is mounting in Congress to cut military forces worldwide and the South Korean bases are getting closer scrutiny.

According to the Center for Defense Information, the cost of keeping U.S. troops in Korea is \$3 billion per year.

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U.S. forces in the Pacific, justified by the "Korea threat," cost \$12 billion per year.

Last winter, in reconciling nods toward North Korea, Washington canceled its annual massive Team Spirit war game in South Korea, long seen by the North as extremely threatening. Washington also entered into the first ever cabinet-level talks with North Korea. As part of its end-of-the-Cold-War pledge to withdraw tactical nuclear weapons from around the world, the Pentagon announced it had withdrawn all nuclear weapons from South Korea, the only nuclear weapons on the peninsula.

Still, in the following months the U.S. pressured South Korea to go slow in its talks with the North and has postponed further reconciliation gestures. Congressional pressure had forced the Pentagon to put in place a very long, drawn-out plan to remove U.S. troops from Korea. Now, even that inadequate plan has been shelved and the Pentagon is hinting it will hold the Team Spirit war games once again next winter.

The major excuse for pouring cold water on the talks has been a hyped-up campaign to imply that North Korea is on the verge of building nuclear weapons. But, with the June International Atomic Energy Agency inspection of North Korean nuclear facilities that found the country far from able to produce a bomb, the credibility of that effort is disintegrating.

#### U.S./Korea Movement

A strong movement needs to be built in this country to pressure the U.S. to follow a path of peace and justice in Korea. In fact, during the past fifteen years, as many progressives in the U.S. have fought for other causes, a Korea movement has been growing. There are eighty or ninety small, diverse Korea groups spread across the United States.

The key areas Korea activists have focused on are: democracy and an end to human rights abuses in South Korea; the withdrawal of U.S. troops and nuclear weapons from South Korea; exposure of U.S. created prostitution around its military bases and support for Korean women; support for labor rights; reconciliation between the United States and North Korea; and the reunification of North and South Korea.

Korean-Americans, as well as people who have lived in South Korea as missionaries, Peace Corps workers, or students, are at the core of this movement. They have close ties with the activist movement in South Korea. "We are working hard to give voice to the movement in Korea," said Hyuk Kyo Suh, a member of Young Koreans United, which has chapters in ten U.S. cities. "People in the U.S. are not aware of the diverse and very vibrant peoples' grassroots movement in South Korea."

Over the years, the Korea groups in the U.S. have gained some support for their various campaigns from peace, feminist, labor and human rights groups throughout the country. But it has been an uphill struggle. Activists, like others in this country, are driven by the news. Korea is considered old news. The Korea movement must find ways to communicate the urgency of its belief that conditions are right today for a successful push to change U.S./Korea policy.

tions have close ties is the Korean Alliance of Anti-Nuclear Peace Movements. At the Pacific People's Forum: "Toward a century free from overseas bases," held in Yokohama, Japan in May, the Alliance urged, "The time has now come, especially for the people of the Korean Peninsula and overseas Koreans, to raise [our] voice to demand the creation of a nuclear-free zone, the withdrawal of nukes and all foreign bases and troops from the Korean peninsula." The student movement in South Korea is now exploring the possibility that U.S. ships stopping in South Korean ports may be carrying nuclear weapons. It is not enough for the U.S. to just announce it has withdrawn nuclear weapons stored on Korean soil. It must agree to a true nuclear-free zone and remove the nuclear threat from the region.

#### Political Prisoners

The freeing of political prisoners is

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*He was caught by the police with a book,  
Basic Theories of Wage .... The judges ruled,  
"As long as it cannot be proven that the possession of  
the book resulted from intention to conduct academic  
research, or from simple curiosity, we must assume  
that he had the intention to benefit the enemy."*  
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"I think we're in a very good position to press for the complete withdrawal of U.S. troops from Korea," said Eunju Lee, a member of the Committee for a New Korea Policy, based in Albany, NY. "We need to make sure those groups pressing for a cut in the Defense Department budget in order to end poverty in the U.S. remember that U.S. troops in South Korea are very expensive."

A long term goal of the Korea movement has been the creation of a nuclear-free zone in Korea. Activists are pushing, through petitions, letters, and demonstrations, for the quick implementation of the North-South agreement to create a Korean nuclear-free zone. One of the movement groups in South Korea with which U.S. organiza-

another issue of great importance to the Korea movement. "The Bush administration would like us to think everything is fine in South Korea", said Ramsay Liem of Boston, a board member of Stop Torture in Korea (STIK). "Everything is not fine. President Roh Tae Woo has thrown more people into prison than Chun Doo Hwan. The use of the National Security Law is particularly vicious."

The South Korean government uses the National Security Law to control contact with North Korea, fearing a tidal wave of public sentiment for reunification that might sweep the government itself from power. Anyone who does communicate with, or travel to, North Korea without government per-



mission (movement groups are never given permission), faces the threat of jail.

In 1989, Im Su Kyung, then age 20, traveled to North Korea to represent the South Korean student movement at the World Festival of Youth. When she returned, she was arrested and is now serving a five year sentence under the National Security Law. Two political prisoners held under the law, Kim Sun Myung and Lee Jong Hwan, have been held for forty-one years, making them the longest held political prisoners in the world. The Korea movement, joined by Amnesty International and other human rights groups, continues to petition the U.S. and South Korean governments on behalf of these and other political prisoners.

To date U.S. Korea activists have not focussed attention on political prisoners in North Korea. Because the U.S. and other western countries have so little contact with North Korea, information about possible political prisoners is sketchy, based largely on questionable South Korean intelligence sources. In the months ahead the U.S. government is very likely to raise human rights violations in the North as a reason to go slow with dialogue. Activists in their concern for ending the division of Korea must be careful not to gloss over the realities of political repression in North Korean society.

### Growing Labor Movement

The labor movement in South Korea is gaining momentum as workers attempt to gain some benefit from the tremendous growth of the South Korean economy. During the past few years, U.S. Korea activists have begun to work in support of this movement.

The major progressive national labor federation, Chonnohyup, has been declared an anti-state organization, and its leaders can be arrested under the National Security Law. The way this works is illustrated by a recent case.

This March a Hyundai company worker and active union member, Kim Sang Myung, was found guilty of violating Article 7 of the National Security Law (producing, disseminating or possessing enemy-benefitting materials). He was caught by the police with a book,



*Basic Theories of Wage.* He had also written an article for a union newsletter, "United States for Whom?" Both were described as "enemy-benefitting material." The judges ruled, "As long as it cannot be proven that the possession of the book resulted from intention to conduct academic research or from simple curiosity, we must assume that he had the intention to benefit the enemy."

In addition to making visible individual cases like this, Korea groups are drawing attention to U.S. corporations, which ran to South Korea to benefit from cheap labor. There, companies including Motorola, Control Data and Radio Shack used company-hired goon squads to severely beat women workers attempting to unionize and press for fair treatment. Stockholders resolutions, solicitation of resolutions from U.S. unions, petitions, and letter-writing campaigns are being used to expose these anti-labor policies.

During 1990 and 1991, union groups throughout the U.S. rallied to support PICO company workers, who traveled to the U.S. to confront their American boss and to speak to U.S. union and movement audiences. The Center for Constitutional Rights filed a suit on their behalf, seeking back wages and compensation for the abrupt illegal closing of the PICO factory in South Korea. This was the first time Third World workers were able to sue in U.S. courts for the violation of their collective bargaining agreement. The case was lost, but is now on appeal.

### Women's Issues

The U.S. Korea movement has also worked to support the concerns of the very active women's movement in South Korea. Major issues there are the sexual torture of political prisoners; revision of South Korea's family law, which is very discriminatory toward women; the rights of women workers; and the severe problem of prostitution around U.S. bases.

"We work in support of the women's movement in South Korea", said Jinsook Lee, of the Korean Information and Resource Center in Washington DC. "This year they have pressed the Japanese government to apologize for the abduction of Korean women during WWII to serve as prostitutes for the Japanese military. Up to 200,000 Korean women were shamelessly treated. This is an important issue for us in the U.S. because there are prostitution areas around every U.S. base. The U.S. is really no better than the Japanese."

### U.S. Ties to North Korea

The issue of reconciliation between the United States and North Korea remains very much on the front burner of the Korea movement. The U.S. need not *like* North Korea in order to end its stance of military confrontation. "As the largest power concerned about Korea, the United States can block or encourage reunification between North and South. If North Korea is defined only as an enemy, no progress will be possible," said Paul Kim, of the Korea Church

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Coalition for Peace Justice and Reunification in Korea, which is sponsored by Methodist, Presbyterian and other Protestant churches and Catholic orders.

For the past decade, a major reconciliation tactic of the Korea movement has been to encourage Korean Americans to travel to North Korea to visit relatives they had been unable to see for decades. Even today the governments of North and South Korea allow no personal travel to the other side. There is no telephone or mail service. Parents and children have not been able to see each other for forty years.

With an invitation from the North Korean government, six or seven thousand persons have traveled to North Korea to be at least temporarily reunited with their loved ones. The impact of these visits has been to greatly undercut South Korean and U.S. efforts to paint North Korea only in negative terms. In recent months, either fearing that Western thinking is undermining public support for the government, or frustrated that the United States has allowed only a few North Koreans to visit the U.S., North Korean authorities have cut such family visits to a trickle.

The Korea movement in the U.S. is working to encourage these visits to continue. The American Friends Service Committee and scholars at a score of U.S. universities are currently working to bring North Korean scholars to the U.S. to redress the travel imbalance. The main obstacle continues to be the reluctance of the State Department to grant visas to North Koreans. Only about a hundred North Koreans have been able to visit the U.S. since the Korean War.

A very interesting and strange development for the Korea movement in the U.S. is the emergence of a number of right wing groups here, effectively advocating for reconciliation with Pyongyang. The North Korean government, which very much wants to establish normal ties with the United States, is now looking to the right wing for support, apparently believing the Left has little influence on the U.S. government.

Recent visitors to North Korea have included Rev. Billy Graham and Rev. Sun Myung Moon of the Unification Church. The conservative Center for

Strategic and International Studies has sponsored several delegations to Pyongyang.

Last May a large delegation, including a number of former governors, as well as former CIA and State Department officials, traveled to Pyongyang. The delegation was sponsored by the American Freedom Coalition, a Moonie organization. Each of these groups has come back urging the United States to reach out to North Korea to ease military tensions. Like Pat Buchanan, who, during his presidential campaign, called for the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Korea, these groups believe that it is not in the U.S. interest to be drawn into a new war in Korea. The Korea movement needs to do further work to understand the motivation of these groups and to find ways to take advantage of their initiatives, while not incorporating their agenda.

Groups focused on Korean issues do not expect the rest of the progressive movement to drop other important work to take up this cause. But they do want groups to add Korea to their agenda. Disarmament groups working for a cutback in Pentagon spending need to vigorously demand that U.S. troops be withdrawn from South Korea. Anti-nuclear groups need to press for a nuclear-free zone in Korea. The feminist movement should reach out to Korean women who are struggling against U.S. multinational corporations and the U.S. military. It is in the interest of the labor movement to press for higher wages and better working conditions in Korea to stem the flow of U.S. capital to South Korea. The climate is right to press the U.S. for a new Korea policy, emphasizing peace, justice and reconciliation. ◇

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*David Easter is the coordinator of the Committee for a New Korea Policy, a Quaker organization.*

**Resources and information can be obtained from the following groups.**

**Korea Church Coalition for Peace Justice and Reunification**  
475 Riverside Drive, Room 902  
New York, NY 10115

Supported by the denominations of the National Council of Churches and Catholic orders working particularly with members of Korean churches throughout the U.S. Publishes *Korea Update*.

**Korea Information and Resource Center**  
1314 14th Street, NW, #5  
Washington, DC 20005

A documentation and resource center working closely with the progressive movement in South Korea and seeking to be a voice for that movement. Publishes *Korea Report*.

**Korea Support Network**  
c/o Committee for a New Korea Policy  
33 Central Avenue  
Albany, NY 12210

A loose coalition of Korea concerned groups across the country that meets twice a year for mutual support and for planning joint campaigns. Has placed its strongest emphasis on the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Korea.

**U.S. Korea Labor Solidarity Network**  
c/o Marty Hart-Landsberg  
5624 SW California Street  
Portland, OR 97219

A West Coast network of individuals and groups working to support specific labor struggles in South Korea.

**Young Koreans United**  
37-53 90th Street, #4  
Jackson Heights, NY 11372

Has chapters in ten cities and has worked particularly effectively in solidarity with groups working on Central America, the Philippines, South Africa and other progressive causes.



## Dangerous Memories

### Resist Resource Review

Renney Golden, Michael McConnell, Peggy Mueller, Cinny Poppen, and Marilyn Turkovich (1991) **Dangerous Memories: Invasion and Resistance Since 1492**, Chicago Religious Task Force on Central America, 59 E. Van Buren Street #1400, Chicago, IL 60605; 272 pages, with forward by Marilyn Jones; illustrations and graphics from various sources. Reviewed by Ken Hale.

**T**his important book contains three core chapters dealing successively with the European invasion of the Americas, African and Indigenous American resistance, and the cultures of invasion and resistance. A recurrent theme of the book, that certain memories are very necessary to our survival, is greatly strengthened by its perception that the invasion is not something that belongs only to the past, and it is not something that affected the Americas alone. The book is also enhanced by a section devoted to teaching strategies, emphasizing that it is not merely reading material; rather, it is a tool to be used in retrieving and safeguarding memory and in understanding certain important things about the world.

The first chapter is careful to make the connection between the European project of overseas conquest and the calamitous and violent conditions which existed in fifteenth century Europe. And it relates the Spanish participation in this project to the economic distress of the Spanish crown following the reconquest of Spain, a process which involved, among other things, the colonization of Catalonia (in the northeast of present-day Spain) and the expulsion of the highly productive Moorish and Sephardic communities. If the economic desires of the crown were a driving force in the invasion and colonization of America, the reconquest of Spain provided experience in the practices so effectively used against the peoples of the New World. This picture is well drawn in *Dangerous Memories*, as are other important elements in the story, e.g., the role of the European culture of Christianity and the prevailing European attitudes toward nature. And the European context is compared and contrasted with the pre-conquest American condition of extraordinary cul-

tural and linguistic diversity and with the predominately cooperative and integrative Native American attitudes and approaches to nature and the land.

An important point is made here and throughout the book — namely, that the Americas were fully occupied at the time of the conquest. But the point is blunted somewhat by a map entitled “The Peoples of the Western Hemisphere” (page 26), which appears to leave out a lot of groups — e.g., Inuit-Aleut, Athabaskan (only Southern is included), many Algonquian, Yuman, most of the peoples of California (the most diverse area in North America), Misumalpan, Chibchan, and many others. This cannot be helped, I assume, because of space. But the map should be changed to read “Some Peoples ...”, and in using the book for teaching, the discussion of the population of the New World could be

made more realistic by using the various linguistic maps that exist. One such map is included (page 231), but additional ones could be prepared for Central and South America, as well as for North America, by consulting the relevant handbooks.<sup>1</sup> In fact, this would be a reasonable student activity for building further upon the foundation represented by the book itself.

With the cultural, political, and historical contexts established, the remainder of the first chapter is devoted to the invasion and its consequences. Much interesting material is brought forth, and the book

*continued on next page*

1. For example: the *Handbook of North American Indians*, general editor William C. Sturtevant, Smithsonian Institution (beginning 1978); the *Handbook of Middle American Indians*, general editor Robert Wauchoppe (beginning 1964); and the *Handbook of South American Indians*, general editor Julian H. Steward (1946, 1963).

## I.N.V.A.S.I.O.N



*A gulf deeper than ocean  
yawns between the old world and the new.*

Fray Nufiez Cabeza de Vaca quoted in Haniel Long,  
*The Power within Us*



correctly calls attention to the fact that the disaster was not limited in its affects to Native America but to other populations as well. As an integral part of its story, *Dangerous Memories* includes an account of slavery and its catastrophic impact on African peoples and cultures. I think that much more could be developed in relation to this aspect of the story, in the context of the "teaching strategies," perhaps. The invasion continues long past the devastation of the Indies, the conquest of Mexico, and the Pequot War, for example; and it is not limited to the Americas. The later devastation of Aboriginal Australia and of the Hawaiians arguably belongs to the same general episode in the European program of conquest and economic exploitation which began in 1492, the minor delay being due simply to the time consumed in establishing various New World hegemonies on the part of the competing European powers.



In truth, invasion and destruction have been constant to this very day, as is clear from the second chapter of *Dangerous Memories*, where the story of resistance unfolds. Here again, the African experience is given a deservedly prominent position, with an excellent chronicle of black resistance extending from the early 1500s to the late 1960s. Indigenous American resistance is treated in two sections — resistance in North America, covering a period from the early 1600s to the occupation of Wounded Knee in 1890, and resistance in Central and South America, ranging from the late 1400s to the Andean resistance of the 1700s. The Mexican revolution is appropriately included in this part of the story, as are the recent and ongoing struggles in Nicaragua, Guatemala, and El Salvador.

Like the invasion itself, resistance to it has been continuous to the present, and *Dangerous Memories* includes a section on current resistance in the Amazon. This

is another place where more can be done. The teaching potential of the book can be used to explore more fully the nature of the continuing embattlement of Native American cultures and of the resistance which has been offered in response. To do this, however, it will be necessary to expand the bibliography and to enter into a sphere of scholarship which, for some reason, appears to be shunned by the authors of *Dangerous Memories*, namely the virtual mountain of literature produced by anthropologists since before the turn of the century. An intelligent reading of the new *Handbook of North American Indians* (see note 1) will reveal the extent to which North American indigenous life is one of constant struggle and resistance in virtually every domain: culture, education, water and mineral resources, grazing, agriculture, employment, religion, language, etc. And the anthropological literature includes classics which are absolutely pertinent to the theme of *Dangerous Memories*. A special place in this literature belongs to Edward Spicer's *Cycles of Conquest: The Impact of Spain, Mexico, and the United States on the Indians of the Southwest 1533-1960*, University of Arizona Press (1962).

In connection with references from the published literature, there are a number of mistakes in *Dangerous Memories* which would probably be uncovered in the course of using it as a resource in teaching. I will cite just a few. Cherokee is Iroquoian, not Algonquian (p. 30). Zapata's men followed him out of *cariño*, not *carriña* (p. 146). The words *fluta* and *guittara* should probably be *flauta* and *guitarra* (p. 186). And the renowned Mexican Nahuatl scholar is Miguel León-Portilla, not León-Portillo (p. 78 and elsewhere).

It is important to stress that Native American peoples *survive*. It is virtually unknown to the non-Indian residents of the Northeastern United States, for example, that the Pequots, devastated by the English attack at Mystic (Connecticut) in 1637, persist to this day as a community fully engaged in efforts which belong properly to the tradition of struggle which marks the rest of Native America. The story of Pequot survival is told in Laurence M. Hauptman and James D. Wherry (eds.) *The Pequots of Southern New England: The Fall and Rise of an American Indian Nation*, University of Oklahoma Press, 1990.

The story of the survival of indigenous peoples should, in my judgment,

## Alternative Visions of the Americas

The Media Network in New York is an organization that links independent media makers with audiences who seek alternative points of view on issues affecting their lives. The Network sponsors workshops and conferences, provides fiscal sponsorship for independent media artists, and publishes bi-annual guides to alternative media. The most recent issue of the Network's newsletter, *ImMEDIATE Impact*, contains a pull-out supplement describing films and videos that "are acts of discovery, rediscovery and affirmation.... Many of these works are striking for their emphasis on multiple identities and the encounter of disparate worlds. They ask what it means to be African American and Seminole, Native American and lesbian, indigenous and exiled, or mestizaje (mixed). These are the voices of workers, soldiers, activists and those whose collective memory pre-dates the 'beginning of American history' 500 years ago." The supplement tells you where you can rent or buy these resources and how much they cost. To get it, write Media Network, 39 West 14th St., Suite 403, NY, NY 10011, or call (212) 929-2663.

form a central focus of attention in implementing the pedagogical project of *Dangerous Memories*. In the United States, for example, the ability of an indigenous group to demonstrate the fact of its continuous survival through particular historical periods can mean the difference between success and failure in the struggle for land rights and tribal recognition. The struggle for survival is waged on many fronts — legal, economic, educational, cultural. Any of these could form the basis of a rich program of study which would serve to demonstrate the energy and courage which indigenous communities have brought to bear in the course of their histories of survival.

The third chapter of *Dangerous Memories* deals with the theme of culture, a theme which is intimately identified with the notion of survival. Within the tradition



of indigenous survival, the story of local languages, and the on-going struggle on their behalf, is interesting and instructive. Language is not only an important symbol of cultural and community identity, it is also the medium in which much of the cultural wealth of a community is realized. An important aspect of indigenous resistance has been the development of programs designed to maintain and protect local linguistic traditions. This involves struggle in every sense of the word. The forces which militate against local language maintenance are monumental. They involve a climate which is antagonistic toward linguistic and cultural diversity, permitting xenophobic movements like U.S. English (English First) to flourish, as well as economic conditions which are disastrous for the continued survival of local languages spoken by small populations. In this connection, the teaching program of *Dangerous Memories* might well pick language as a topic to explore, with a focus on language endangerment and loss. An excellent and up-to-date basis for this would be Robert H. Robins and Eugenius M. Uhlenbeck (1991) *Endangered Languages*, distributed in the U.S. and Canada by St. Martin's Press, New York. This volume was prepared as part of a project to recognize the situation of endangered languages at the 1992 meeting of the International Congress of Linguists, in Quebec.

Quite apart from the role which it plays in the dynamics of indigenous survival, language is an excellent lead into the study of culture. It is well known that some of the most valuable products of human intellectual labor are inextricably linked to the language in which they are expressed. O'odham (Pima and Papago) sung verse, for example, depends totally on abstract structures of the language and, while good translations into Spanish or English can be quite beautiful, they are separate creations and not the same as the originals. An excellent, more accessible, example of the expression of cultural forms in language is Gary Witherspoon's *Language and Art in the Navajo Universe*, University of Michigan Press (1977).

But the notion of culture examined in the third chapter of *Dangerous Memories* involves a much greater and more pressing issue. It is about serious cultural differences in attitudes toward the world and the responsibilities of the people in it, differences which we must come to understand and respect if we are to survive. I think that this is the right aspect of "culture" to

emphasize in this book, given its focus on "memories". We must remember not only what went before but we must also remember what we could very well lose. And a lot of what we could lose is crucial to our survival. We had better share our memories. The book's well chosen selections from the writing of John Mohawk deserve to be taken very seriously. □

*Ken Hale is a member of the Resist board. He teaches linguistics at MIT and specializes in the study of Australian and (Central and North) American indigenous languages.*

### Internship available at Resist

We are looking for an intern starting as soon as possible, for up to sixteen hours of work/week on a volunteer basis.

**You must be:** familiar with progressive, anti-racist, feminist, and gay and lesbian politics; have good writing, communication and research skills; have strong organizing ability; be flexible and willing to take initiative and also do some jobs that can be tedious. Computer skills very desirable, graphic design knowledge a plus.

**Responsibilities include:** general office work, help with the newsletter [soliciting articles and reviews, writing grant reports, some grant work, working on our 25th anniversary "Resist history project," etc], help managing our extensive collection of movement resources, and other projects depending on your interest and background.

For those interested in grassroots social change work around the country, fundraising and development, and small press publications, this is an opportunity to learn and to contribute in a good working environment where dressing up is definitely not required! Course credit may be available at your college.

Contact Nancy Moniz at  
(617) 623-5110.

*continued from page twelve*

Police run through our community using us for target practice, while women are raped, beaten, and killed in alleys, well-lit streets, fields, and in their own homes by strangers, kin, lovers, husbands, friends, and acquaintances.

And social services are being cut....

In the schools we are taught the history of our oppressor. And they lie, and lie, and lie, and dis us. And then they wonder why we don't pay attention.

All these problems are not just on the surface, they are part of the fabric of U.S. society. In other words, our oppression is built into this system. The government is responsible. Therefore, we cannot change our condition without changing the entire system. [From FMP Statement of Purpose]

Free My People's membership includes both youth and adults, African-Americans, Puerto Ricans, Dominicans, Cape Verdeans, and others. It has more women than men, and includes people of all sexual orientations. Together, members organized a Coca-Cola boycott that led to the Boston School Committee's ban on Coca-Cola products in the school system; initiated and participated in a successful suit against the Boston Police Department for its discriminatory stop-and-search policy; worked to ensure that the international *Children of War* group included inner city youth in the U.S., who also live in war zones; hosted community activists from Colombia, Bolivia and Peru on a "Drugs of War" tour; and, in January 1991, began an "Education for Liberation" program.

The Education for Liberation program serves 125-175 youth each week and combines academic tutoring with political education; counseling (group and individual therapy) with yoga and physical education; work on healthy sexuality; recovery from drug addiction and abusive childhood experiences with training in public speaking, journalism, research, and traditional organizing skills. Resist's recent grant to Free My People went toward the cost of a four-day annual retreat for the forty core members of the organization.



# GRANTS

*In each newsletter we highlight a few recent grants made to groups around the country. In this issue we continue from last month, highlighting grants made over the past year to groups doing anti-racism and anti-violence work and promoting youth leadership. The information in these brief reports is provided to us by the groups themselves. For more details, please write to them at the addresses included here.*

**Women Against Violence, P.O. Box 2731, Norfolk, VA 23501.**

Women Against Violence (WAV) is a group of primarily working class African American women that was founded following the death of 15-year-old James "Peter" Clements. On the afternoon of October 29, 1990, Peter became the seventeenth (and youngest) homicide victim in Portsmouth, VA that year; he was fatally wounded in a drive-by shooting just blocks from his house. After a series of community meetings, WAV was established and immediately began holding vigils, a community speak-out against violence, speaking engagements at a local prison and to inner city church and civic groups with a call to "Stop the Violence/ Save Our Youth." WAV aims to bring the issues of youth violence and adult responsibility to the entire community.

Among WAV's goals is an effort to recruit progressive, professional and long time community activists to help develop the organizing skills of African American women, many of whom are single heads of households and whose children face

the threat of neighborhood violence. The group conducts organizing workshops in low-income neighborhoods and its members work as advocates for children, ensuring that local educational, social, and recreational institutions speak to the real needs of youth. WAV sponsored a political forum forcing local candidates for the city council to address questions of poverty, racism, and the absence of job training; the group also organized a summer "Stop the Violence Youth Festival."

Resist's grant was used to publish an organizing pamphlet and to provide a telephone for the group's secretary, the mother of the teenager whose death led to WAV's formation.

**Committee in Solidarity with the Central American People, 458 Blair Blvd., Eugene, OR 97404.**

The Committee in Solidarity with the Central American People (CISCAP) in Eugene is a community-based information, education, and action network that addresses U.S. intervention in Central America on an ongoing basis. The group also works in alliance with social justice groups in the local area.

CISCAP holds monthly educational forums, sponsors speaking tours of Central American activists, produces a quarterly newsletter, holds ongoing meetings with local newspaper editors, and works to provide Central American perspectives to the media. CISCAP has a human rights network that responds to human rights abuses in Central America with telexes

and phone calls, and by exposing the reality of political repression in El Salvador and Guatemala in its public education.

In addition, the group has a material aid component that has supported medical projects in El Salvador and a range of grassroots organizations in Guatemala. CISCAP believes that, as in Central America, everyone here at home has the right to food, decent shelter, health care and education. The group strives to make visible the connections between corporate exploitation of people of color and the poor in Central America and the U.S. To that end, the group has worked with the Chicano Affairs Center, the Homeless Action Coalition, and labor organizations.

The group has added to its material aid campaign an effort to raise funds for local programs serving low-income families of color, and members did physical work on a family shelter (run by the Chicano Affairs Center) during CISCAP's Work-a-Thon.

CISCAP believes that in order to address domestic issues in a useful way, and to be effective as an agent for social justice, it must openly discuss issues of racism, sexism, heterosexism and homophobia within the organization, and encourage people to directly confront themselves and each other about their assumptions and behaviors. Resist's grant was used to further this discussion during a one-day "Undoing Racism" workshop facilitated by a local multicultural anti-racism training group.

**Free My People/Youth Leadership Movement, 466 Blue Hill Ave., Dorchester, MA 02121**

Free My People is a youth-led organization based in Dorchester, MA. The group, a program of the American Friends Service Committee, began in 1988 with the vision that youth in the African-American community are the foremost experts on some of the major issues they face: crime, drugs, violence, gangs, poor education, and unemployment.

Free My People describes itself as part of the African-American people's liberation movement because:

It is clear as we look around that our communities are under siege....

*continued on page eleven*

## Join the Resist Pledge Program

We'd like you to consider becoming a Resist Pledge. Pledges account for over 25% of our income. By becoming a pledge, you help guarantee Resist a fixed and dependable source of income on which we can build our grant making program. In return, we will send you a monthly pledge letter and reminder, along with your newsletter. We will keep you up-to-date on the groups we have funded, and the other work being done at Resist. So take the plunge and become a Resist Pledge! We count on you, and the groups we fund count on us.

☐ **Yes! I would like to become a Resist Pledge. I'd like to pledge \$\_\_\_\_\_ / \_\_\_\_\_ (monthly, bi-monthly, quarterly, 2x a year, yearly).**

☐ **Enclosed is my pledge contribution of \$\_\_\_\_\_.**

☐ **I can't join the pledge program just now, but here's a contribution to support your work. \$\_\_\_\_\_**

**Name \_\_\_\_\_**

**Address \_\_\_\_\_**

**City/State/Zip \_\_\_\_\_**

Resist

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